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friend, they return the compliment by giving you a goat; it is the 'walking-stick' of the old women who brought the beer to her son-in-law, enabling her to go home safely. Goats are dedicated to the gods more frequently than any other animals. A goat is killed at a burial, and its unsalted flesh is eaten. People pay goats to their doctors; they exchange them for mealies. Their skins are still used for making skirts for women and cradles for their babies, whereas cattle hides have no use except for the thongs used in inspanning cattle. Goat's milk, which is never drunk by adults because of its unpleasant odour, is the food of herdboys and girls. All in all, goats play a not inconsiderable part in economic and goodwill exchanges, in legal adjustments, in ritual and religion.

By contrast, sheep, though in the bones of a diviner they represent the men of consequence and goats merely ordinary people, are of no importance whatever. They are very rarely seen on the hills and difficulties connected with dipping have reduced them to a negligible number in the valleys. Fowls are conspicuous everywhere, but only their meat, not their eggs, are eaten. They have recently been introduced by the Shangana-Tonga and even to-day, if found in the capital, are killed and thrown over the hedge. They are never, as among the Shangana-Tonga, used in religious rites. Donkeys, introduced in considerable numbers some thirty years ago, are used in ploughing and for transport, while pigs, also a recent acquisition, figure largely in trading transactions. Pork is not eaten except by men who have worked among Europeans, but the reason is that it nauseates, not so much that it is related to the totem of the tribe. Finally, hunting, as it is to-day, can be dismissed with a reference to the activities of herdboys, who shoot birds with wooden-headed arrows, use birdlime obtained from certain trees, and set various kinds of traps to catch rats, dwarf mongooses, and squirrels.

It is a different matter when we turn to the exploitation of the vegetation. The role that this source of subsistence plays is evident in a thousand ways. It is indeed difficult to give an adequate picture of the manner in which the vegetation enters into all aspects of life and culture. Perhaps, by way of illustration, we may take half a dozen names in order from an alphabetical list of over 300 plants—a small proportion of the flora—which we collected, and note merely a few of the ordinary, well-known uses:

Muvilivili (*Elaborgia caperata*). The wood, which is very white and hence much liked, is used for making spoons and bowls; being soft wood, it is also used for milk pails and door boards. To ensure that it will resist weevils to some extent, it is not cut when very young.

Muvilisa-nyuhwa (*Trichodesma zeylanicum*). In winter, when beer is slow to ferment, the leaves are put into the pot to accelerate the process. The roots, chewed or crushed, are put on wounds to relieve the pain and to heal.

Muvilo (*Vangueria flavibunda*). Two varieties are distinguished. The primary use is medical and magical, e.g. a branch, first presented to terminate and then medicated, is beaten on the temples for migraine; a medicated pole of *muvilo* is placed across gate entrances to keep out witches. For the latter reason, this wood may not be used as firewood; it would reveal the

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695 787 adultery with his father's young wife was exposed by her, accused her of causing his son's death; but the *khovi* told him to beg pardon with a goat, which would also serve as the 'cutter of the tongue'. When uterine sisters challenged one another before the *khovi* the men ridiculed them, saying, 'Who has ever heard of uterine-sisters bewitching one another'—not a very conclusive argument, but sufficient for the purpose in hand. When Mabula, the cattle-linked sister, was called to squirt water (*ku phasa*) for the sick child of her brother, she construed the summons as an accusation of witchcraft, for to call another (not a close relative) to perform this rite is one method of imputing witchcraft; but Mabula's husband intervened in the *khovi*, explained how his wife and her brother by their quarrels were breaking up his home, and suggested that they beg pardon of one another. The *khovi* agreed and averted the challenge.

Even if the parties had been to the *mugowe* with the official witness the *khovi* is not absolutely bound. In the old days, it is said, the *khovi* allowed argument as if the divination of the *mugowe* was not infallible and if the parties were not satisfied the *khovi* could on the initiative of one of them send them to a second *mugowe*. To-day, despite the theory that the *mugowe* is infallible, the old practice persists. We have seen many arguments on the merits and many reversals of the findings of the *mugowe*. These findings may be attacked on the grounds of irregularities in the procedure, such as separation of the parties when they were on the journey, corruption of the 'ears', incompetence of the *mugowe* who failed to find the *phitho* or to indicate correctly the group or totem names of all the parties, dissatisfaction of the one party with the findings as the silence, confusion of the bones by medicines 'thrown' at home, and many others. When there is a conflict between the evidence or a presumption (such as, in adultery cases, the presumption that a woman's evidence is almost as reliable as the bones) and the findings of the *mugowe*, there is no telling which way the ultimate verdict will go. The cases in which these conflicts have occurred are too complicated for adequate handling here, largely because the primary object of the *khovi* is appeasement of the parties and reconciliation of what appear to be incongruous institutions.

There are other aspects of the procedure that have great legal interest—for example, the principles governing vicarious representation of challenger and challenged before the *mugowe* and the right of the person vicariously await out to appeal for a second expedition of which he is a party, the rule as to the conduct of the parties on the journey, the requirement of the *khovi* that it can take cognizance, not of gossip or general rumour, but only a specific accusation by a specific challenger, and many others. We shall touch upon two further points only.

695 791 Firstly the *mugowe* is always a Shangaan-Tonga and lives far away. Litigants from other tribes come to Duiwendo, but the Lovedu generally say that they are going to Pietbill, on the borders of Portuguese East Africa. The theory is that the more distant the *mugowe* the more reliable his verdict will be. But distance also safeguards the diviner from the vengeance that neighbours might take, shifts the incidence of distasteful responsibilities from the *khovi* and eliminates strife between the two

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powerful jurisdictions, the *khoro* and the *mugome*. The *mugome*, great 695
though his powers be, holds a precarious position in the modern world. 791
His fees are not fixed, but the usual amount is £1 2*s*. 6*d*., though it may be
5*s*. or more for each person of the party. Much of his technique is directed
towards preventing the consultants from giving him away to the European
authorities. 'If you say I am a liar,' declared one *mugome* to the parties,
'take back your money and go elsewhere. I even challenge you to take
me to the Europeans; they will agree with me, as I have a licence to
divine.' In another case a *mugome* refused to find any one guilty. 'You
force me,' he said, 'to smell out the witch, but you have left him at home.
The other diviners who smelt out this man [the challenged person] are all
wrong. And you [the challenger], *if* you wish to settle the dispute, must
place a head of cattle as a sacred beast to wake up your grandfather.' But
this finding did not persuade the parties to withdraw their case from the
khoro, and the *khoro*, ignoring the finding, settled the matter in its own
way.

Secondly, the wager is not made by way of an oath, but it is sometimes 695
reduced to writing: 'They bet four head of cattle' (*va bjiije khomu je nne*); 787
that is all. The tiny slip of paper is kept by the 'ears'. The use of the
term *ku bjia* shows, as the people say, that the wager is a new conception.
But we cannot be certain that the wager has been borrowed from Euro-
peans. It fits the whole complex of judicial process: its essence is consent
of the parties to be bound by their wager and by the findings of the
mugome. If one of the parties disagrees with these findings, he is entitled
to demand back the money paid to the *mugome* and ask the party to go
further to another *mugome*. The *khoro* may, however, vary the bet. The
victor comes to the *khoro* and blows his horn; and the women ululate
and dance (*ku pekela*, which by extension also means to be acquitted or
declared innocent by ordeal or *mugome*). Meanwhile the vanquished
party goes home and, if he is contrite, he says that he could not help doing
wrong. Next day he might appear in the *khoro*, ask for time to pay or
khomelwa or send an old man to plead for a reduction of the bet. The
victor pretends to refuse, but in the end, if the *khoro* presses him, he will
agree. Or the *khoro* may, on its own initiative, reduce the bet. Everything
depends on the circumstances. Where the mother of a man was alleged
to have killed the wife of his elder brother (the challenger), the *mugome's*
verdict was against the mother, but as he had said that she was not a born
witch, but had only purchased the medicine from another, the *khoro*
awarded the challenger two head of cattle instead of the six actually
wagered. The bet is often not paid in full, while sometimes nothing at all
is exacted as the 'cutter of the tongue' of the slanderer. But we have seen
cases in which the *khoro* has, at the suggestion of one party, raised a
wager from four to six head of cattle.

This is not the place to discuss the interrelations of the tribal and the 692
European systems. For one thing, the subject requires a volume to itself.
But it is necessary to insist that in criminal matters the system of Native
courts is by European law essentially an integral part of the European
structure. In 1934 Mojeji was given criminal jurisdiction in respect of
offences punishable under Native law, but fines are limited to two head

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755 791 The distinctive characteristic of the doctor with 'power' is that he is a diviner. That must necessarily be so in a society in which pathology is the science of diseases, the nature and causes of which lie so largely in magico-witchcraft conceptions. Special techniques are called for in place of what we call diagnosis and bedside manner. The diviner's function is, however, more than that: he must be called in about the details of every religious ceremony to discover the wishes of the ancestors; he decides where, in order to avoid the danger of the witch, every village must be built; he makes the witch-proof fence. Besides the bone-thrower, to whom we shall refer as doctor and who is consulted at every turn, there are two other classes of diviner, the *lelopo* doctor and the *mugome*, both foreign introductions from the East. The *lelopo* doctor is often a tribesman, the *mugome* always a Shangana-Tonga, preferably living outside Uulovedu. The spheres of these classes of diviner are different: the doctor heals disease and is the general medical practitioner in its wide Lovedu sense; the *lelopo* doctor, almost always a woman, initiates the 'possessed', and often is also a general practitioner, divining with bones and healing disease, especially barrenness and ailments of children; and the *mugome* is, as we have seen, the forensic physician, and if he is famous he keeps no medicines, though otherwise he combines smelling out of the guilty with a general medical practice. Both *mugome* and *lelopo* doctors claim direct inspiration from the ancestors, but the doctor reads his bones by rule.

As it is difficult to persuade outsiders to divulge their knowledge, the profession of doctor, in theory open to all, is in practice more often than not handed down in the family, from father to son or daughter, maternal uncle to nephew, husband to wife, or even wife to husband. Interest and inclination determine who the pupil will be. To acquire a working knowledge of the bones, with which people are generally familiar to some extent, may take only a few months, but it is useless knowledge unless one has medicines and experience, which may take years to acquire. Ambitious doctors spend their lives gaining these perquisites, buying from one, begging from another, colleague; many travel from tribe to tribe or go periodically to Johannesburg, where good money is to be made. There are many specialists: Ramaculana, like his father before him, is a noted rain-maker; Mambye is a master of *madabi*, by which he changes people into animals or hangs organs of the victim of his vengeance-magic on pegs in the hut; Mashao makes the hedge of the *nyali* lodge witch-proof; Rathavala strengthens the queen for office; Mulebye doctors the boys' circumcision lodge. A doctor who has not inherited cannot easily acquire such specialized knowledge: the price is high and the secrets not readily given away. The greatest doctors are said to use human remains in their most potent medicines, and to satisfy this need there are *muipaegwa*, murderers who waylay and kill people at night. During our stay, people, even at public gatherings, discussed and warned against the activities and haunts of these murderers. The wife of Thagu, the doctor, one night came home very drunk and next morning discovered part of her genitals excised. She accused her husband in the district *kkoro* and, though he denied the crime, he paid the fine. As

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Thagu is not a great doctor, people surmised that he wanted the flesh, not for himself, but as the price of a medicine he bought from a renowned doctor. 755 791

A good doctor, unless, as is most common, he grows up in the profession, undergoes a long period of *ad hoc* training of 'walking about' with doctors. Maṅarahani, who hoped by becoming a doctor to save his family the expense of constantly calling in medical aid, began by going about with doctors he knew, from time to time persuading them to show him a few medicines; he put his knowledge to successful use in his family and started collecting a set of bones, buying those he could not pick up himself. Gradually he acquired the elements of divining, finishing up his training at the feet of a Shangana-Tonga *magwav*. Tuition in divining teaches one the various combinations of the dice; really to 'know' the bones one must drink their soup in a ceremony called 'cooking the bones'. It is the only cooking the dice undergo, so that it is taboo to use bones that have been cooked as food; it completes a diviner's training, and it not only creates a bond between dice and diviner, but gives him insight to see what is obscure to others. The ceremony varies from doctor to doctor, but remains in essence of three main features. Firstly, a young cockerel or, according to older custom, a goat is killed, its flesh is cooked with the dice and the broth is drunk by the pupil. The cock quickens perception both of bones and diviner, for it heralds the dawn before man perceives its approach. Secondly, the novice is given medicine (by inoculation or as a drink) containing *inter alia* the heart and nose of the vulture and wild dog, as well as sometimes the heart of the cooked fowl, so that he may sense things from afar. And, thirdly, the bones are buried at the cross-roads overnight 'to gather the news' and next morning are unearthed. When a male passes, a bone representing a male, when a female passes one representing a female, is taken out, and a beer drink is given so as to ensure many passers-by. Thereafter the novice can tell, in a test to which he is submitted, how the bones have fallen without looking at them.

Possession, in the ordinary manner of the cult, but by a spirit who in life was a doctor, constitutes the initiation of a *lolpo* doctor. He may divine during possession when the possessing spirit speaks or chants, or he may throw the dice when not possessed like an ordinary doctor. If during possession the dice are thrown, it is merely for effect, for they are hardly looked at. It is claimed that *lolpo* doctors read dice without training, being guided by their spirit; but in practice we found that either they had for months attached themselves to another doctor or, as members of a divining family, had become familiar with the bones prior to possession. The *magwav*, like the *lolpo* doctor, is guided by a spirit which manifests its desire that he should become a diviner by making him ill, but, unlike the *lolpo* doctor, he is not actually possessed. The *magwav* is the master diviner, but in fact he seldom throws the dice more than once or twice before proceeding to divine 'by the heart'. His initiation comprises the curing of his illness, apprenticeship to another *magwav* and the cooking of the bones. *Lolpo* doctor or *magwav* and guiding spirit are closely associated. A *lolpo* doctor never uses a goat in healing, without setting

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755 791 aside pieces of meat for his spirit, and a *mugwai* always has his special shrine where he reports all money professionally earned. An ordinary doctor sometimes has a shrine where he places horns of goats received or hangs medicine bags when he prays to the spirits, but many do not have these things. To a doctor his divination is like a craft that he has learnt, and he gives offerings only when scarcity of clients is attributed to the displeasure of the gods. When about to divine, he begs the bones to tell him the truth, not the ancestors for guidance.

781 755 The divinatory dice constitute the chief diagnostic method. The Lovedu set is fairly stereotyped, consisting of about forty pieces, most but not all of which are bones; the bones and *hakati* shells (oval-shaped stones of a fruit) of the Shangana-Tonga *mugwai* are somewhat different. Dominating the usual Lovedu set are four flat pieces of ivory or bone, two male and two female, which fall in sixteen different combinations, the cardinal positions. Each position has its own name and its own praise referring, though vaguely, to its meaning; and it is these four pieces from which the general configuration of influences or prognostications is read. There are other sets of four: pieces from the ventral surface of a tortoise, each with two easily distinguishable sides, and shells, two Oliva standing for males and two Cyraea standing for females. Having thrown the dice, the diviner looks first at the ivory pieces and gives the praise of their disposition, which indicates the general situation, say, dissension, loss, or complaints of the father's sister. But this general situation must be related to the lie of certain other bones, particularly *malepe*, the knuckle-bone of the steenbuck (*Raphiceros campestris*), from which, as representing the chief, the diviner next orientates the situation. The procedure thereafter involves linking this situation, on the one hand, with events or specific prognostications of good or evil and, on the other, with people playing a part in these events. *Thokondo* or *mudimo*, the talus of the antbear, represents the ancestors, who, like the antbear, live underground, shows whether they are angry or not, and is diagnostic of the health or life of a person which in the last resort lies in ancestral hands. *Dau*, the phalanx of the lion (or in some sets *ngwe*, the phalanx of the tiger) which is also a pointing bone showing direction, *phiri*, the knee-bone of the hyena, of which there may be two, male and female, and *tshuswi*, male and female kneebones of the baboon, all stand for the evil power of witches and their familiars. The baboon bones, in addition, indicate, by the side on which they fall, danger or illness on a journey, suitability of the spot for building upon and, in case of barrenness, whether or not a child will be born. Every set contains two morula pips with functions less specific, depending as they do upon the whole configuration of forces or events, and a river pebble, *lenyo la guswa*, the thing swallowed by a crocodile, which is diagnostic of *khilezo*, the illness caused by foreign substances which sorcerers cause their victims to swallow with food or drink.

To bring these evil or good influences into relation with specific people, to determine who is ill or who is bewitching the consultants, the diviner turns to certain astragalus bones, capable of falling on four sides and representing people. Two or three sheep bones stand for important

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bring with them in addition dancing performers (*grahe*) to please her and to evoke her pity at the sorrowful sight of people dancing in summer when they ought to be ploughing. The movements of this dancing do not differ from those of ordinary dancing, but the music consists of *lovugu* songs sung also at the annual harvest ceremony, on the death of important royal people, and at the girls' initiation 'school'.

The most renowned of all dancing for rain is the *lugobukele*, a special kind of *grahe*, the mourning dance of a section of Thonzo people living under one of the district heads, Maculana. It is more dignified, its movements slower and more stately, and its drumming more subdued than in an ordinary *grahe*. So lightly are the drums struck that the clear, silvery, varied tones of the reed pipes ring out like the peal of bells. Only two drums are used, and none but those who have lost at least one parent may perform, and it is begun in the dim light of the dawn before sunrise, when, after a short spell, it stops and is resumed later in the day. When some one person has greatly angered the queen, and drought is believed to be due to her displeasure on this account, the married women from all the villages in the royal neighbourhood assemble every morning after cooking to dance, singing, 'We are being killed on account of a bogyman in skins' (*re rulaiswa gi Madikadyana di sclivetgiana*). Grandmothers nurse the babies and encourage the younger women with their trillings and dancing movements. The dust rises high and by sunset they are black with dirt and sweat; but next day and the next they come again, sometimes for as long as a week, till rain falls or continued drought makes it clear that some other cause is operating as well. The great hardship this dancing entails (for nursing mothers who perform have no time to feed their babies) is thought to melt the heart of the queen. Too much rain, as well as too little, is laid at the door of the queen. On one occasion, when it had rained almost incessantly for six weeks, the chief councillor said in the presence of the queen, 'Fat does not fill the pot' (*makhura a a gale bija*), meaning that there can be too much of a good thing—a hint to the queen to regulate things better.

There is no belief that is stronger in the tribe even to-day than that in the power of the queen to transform the clouds. This does not, however, mean that they do not recognise the regularity of the seasons. People know that the month of February is generally the rainiest in the year; that the month *Morwamo* (October), when the Southern Cross sets just before bedtime, is the time when the first rains are approaching, and no one would *love* rain in winter any more than Europeans would organise a day of prayer for rain in that season. Yet if rain does not come at its proper time or the season is generally bad, it may be said, 'The queen has not changed the hoeing season [*i.e.* the year] nicely' (*a se fedula lefoswa ka swiwi*); for if the cycle of seasons is considered inevitable, whether the new year is brought in propitiously or otherwise is in the hands of the queen.

Though renowned as the greatest rain-maker in South Africa, Mujaji never works alone. She always has a rain-doctor, of whom there are many in the tribe, to work with her. She chooses any renowned doctor, but may change him for another if people complain that the rain is bad—

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that is, insufficient or accompanied by too many thunderstorms. For these deficiencies, the queen herself is never blamed. The chief function of the doctor is to co-operate with the queen in some of the things she cannot do: he divines the causes of drought and discovers which forces are hindering the queen's power from taking effect; and, using his own medicines, he aids her in removing these causes and setting right what is wrong. The relation between rain-doctors and the queen is interesting. They are specialists in their art, which they have inherited from their fathers, and are even consulted independently by outside tribes. Khishibwa, the queen's own rain-doctor, is often called by Nwamitwa, the Shangana-Tonga chief, in time of drought, and Tshivalane, a Venda chief, comes, not to *lowa* Mujaji, but to call Lovea, a rain-doctor on a farm within her jurisdiction. Any payments they receive are their own. Yet these doctors themselves unreservedly state that in the last resort they are dependent on the queen: if she stays their hands, their powers will avail them nothing. It is said, 'If the chief holds the rain from falling, the doctor cannot cause rain' (*Ire khosi a ga tsaura kula hove e khi na, Dinga e ga na nwa*). A rain-doctor sent by the queen to make rain for a Venda chief who came to *lowa* once in our presence urged the chief councillor, 'Tell the queen not to hold my hands.' In addition to the chief's right-hand men in rain activities, there are certain lesser rain-doctors whom she employs as her messengers when outside tribes *lowa* rain, for she would never dream of giving a supplicant medicine to take back with him. These messengers, though sent by the queen, are, strange as it seems to us, not given any medicine or charm to use in their rain-making. It is considered enough that they come from her, and their payment is the entertainment they receive at the foreign court.

What the queen does to transform the clouds and the exact nature of the objects and medicines associated with her work are enshrouded in the greatest secrecy. It is doubtful whether any one other than the queen herself is in possession of this secret, for it is bound up with the title and power to succeed to the throne. The secrets are always imparted to the successor just prior to the death of the chief, and on occasion in Lovedu traditional history the would-be usurper, to whom the secrets had not been entrusted, has been deposed in favour of the 'chosen' heir. The queen's rain medicines are kept in rough earthen pots (*mabaga*) in a part of the village to which few have access. Some of their power is said to derive from a human skull in the rain-pot, and there are horns which are kept in a hut. When these rain-horns (*dinaga ja kula*) are placed on the ground, rain falls; when they are hung up, it clears up and is dry. The medicine in the rain-horns is said, when burnt, to produce smoke which rises up in the air to draw and so produce the clouds. The technique is not unlike *kubwasa*, luck medicine, which when burnt draws customers to traders and touts. Associated with the rain cult are the *gumana* drums the beating of which in former times was believed to bring rain, but the true *gumana* ceremonies have not been held for about thirty years. The rain cult to-day is largely confined to observances connected with the queen and her medicines or charms (*dikhagula*).

The chief ingredient of the rain-pots is the skin of the deceased chief

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of the lines of the father's mother and mother's father, such as is mentioned by Stayt for the Venda. The complete absence of any awe or reverence when the Bantu approach their ancestors is seen in the loud talk, jokes and laughter of all except the officiators themselves, and the discussions that frequently take place between the officiator and his neighbours in the middle of proceedings as to what he should do next and how he should do it. As is the case with Europeans, some families are more religious than others, and the very human tendency to forget the gods when things go well is well marked. Some people are always giving to the gods, telling them of all important happenings in the family, giving them a share of any beer that arrives at the kraal, asking their blessings; others forget to perform even the harvest thanksgiving and, unless illness or other trouble comes to show the anger of the ancestors, years may elapse without any religious ceremony taking place.

THE DOCTOR. No religious ceremony of any importance takes place without the co-operation and advice of the doctor; indeed the majority of offerings that are made are done on the advice of the doctor, who determines in every case all such details as which charms are to be used, whether any special relatives have to be present, what if any beads are to play a part. The great doctor is a figure of inter-tribal importance; he works not in one tribe but in many, a fact which largely accounts for the uniformity in the religious practices of different tribes, in contrast to the diversity found in any one tribe. All doctors are not, however, of the same importance. The herbalist, of whom there are hundreds, both male and female, has a limited sphere. He has inherited from his parents or some other relative, often, in the case of a woman, from her husband, one or more medicines or type of medical treatment such as the cutting of veins for blood-letting and a cure for epilepsy, and this he dispenses to all who come.

The doctor, *par excellence*, is the bone-thrower who combines with his divining an extensive knowledge of medicine. There is nothing spectacular about the Sotho doctor; he wears no special or distinguishing dress; his methods are not directed to securing any dramatic effects. Unlike the doctor in Zulu-Xhosa society who is called to his profession by the spirits, undergoes a long period of *ukutwasa* during

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which he acts in a strange manner, hears voices calling him and often runs amok, the Sotho bone-thrower learns his art in the same quiet manner as any other craft and completes his training not by any public ceremonial but by a private strengthening consisting of drinking water in which the bones have been cooked together with the blood of a cock to make him wakeful and clever. There is no objection to people practising their profession long before they have completed their training, so that doctors range from the novice to the renowned diviner of long standing. The profession, though open to all, is usually inherited from a relative; but there is an increasing number of men to-day who become doctors for the money they make out of it and without undergoing any extensive training.

The doctor associated with the new cult of possession that has within the past thirty years spread over the Lowveld from the east resembles in his methods the Zulu-Xhosa doctor. He is possessed by spirits who talk through him and order him to throw bones and guide him in the use of medicines, and he uses all manner of wonderful tricks. But he undergoes no initiation other than that of all possessed people. The cult is confined largely to women who, during possession, speak in a foreign tongue, said to be Thobolo or Kgalaka, but in reality a kind of gibberish. Possession takes the form of dancing to the accompaniment of tambourines, rattles and a special kind of drum beat, initiation into which is believed to cure the ailment which accompanied the first manifestations of the possessing spirit. These spirits are always those of relatives, usually on the mother's side, in contrast to the foreign spirits who are thought to possess Shangana-Tongas who have the same cult. Only a few of those who are possessed ever become doctors and then only when the possessing spirit was a doctor. They are the only class of Sotho doctor who receives inspiration direct from the spirits.

A class of doctor that does not belong to the Sotho culture yet is indispensable to Lowveld Sotho society, who is seldom or never a Sotho yet has a place in Sotho life, is the *mufemi* or Shangana-Tonga smeller-out. He divines chiefly by the head without much use of bones, is able to find things that have been hidden, and is the final judge or smeller-out of witches.

The doctor is not, in the minds of most people, clearly distinguished

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from the witch: it is generally argued that he who knows how to counteract wizards must himself be one, and Lowveld doctors are known to 'try' one another by sending lightning or familiars to their rivals to test their powers. Doctors have been openly accused of witchcraft. This confusion is, however, in no way detrimental to the practice of great doctors since not only is a doctor unlikely to work against a client when it is in the interest of his practice to please, but as there must always be a motive in evil-doing, witchcraft without intention being impossible, doctors harm only their enemies.

DAY AND NIGHT WIZARDS. The term *mulai*, wizard, is in the Lowveld equivalent to 'criminal' and implies evil intention, desire to kill others. In contrast to the Shangana-Tongs, there is thought to be no such thing as unintentional witchcraft. The wizard knows he is a wizard and harms others because he bears towards them feelings of envy or malice. The methods employed in witchcraft do not differ from those of good magic; the distinction between the two lies in the evil motives, injurious to social life, which lie behind witchcraft. Hence use of magic on one's possessions to hurt the fingers of whoever tries to steal them or sending animals to frighten a deserting wife into returning home is not witchcraft, though the technique is identical with that of the witch, because designed not to kill or injure seriously but to uphold the social order.

All tribes in the Lobedu culture area have a technical distinction between two classes of wizards—the night wizard (*mulai as busiu*) and the day wizard (*mulai as matsuru*). The night wizard, usually but not exclusively a woman, inherits his evil powers from his mother who teaches him the art in early infancy. His methods are direct: by going himself or sending familiars, various animals such as the stoat and *vilidzwaw* (human beings whom he has killed and enslaved), he works his harm. He works mostly at night, and there exists a sort of society of wizards who dance together at night and recognize one another by day. The day wizard, on the other hand, does not necessarily come of a stock of wizards. Any one who uses medicine to poison or kill is a day wizard. Sending lightning, using people's footprints or pointing at them to harm them, poisoning food and beer, these are the methods of the day wizard in whose work the 'spell',

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which he acts in a strange manner, hears voices calling him and often runs amok, the Sotho bone-thrower learns his art in the same quiet manner as any other craft and completes his training not by any public ceremonial but by a private strengthening consisting of drinking water in which the bones have been cooked together with the blood of a cock to make him wakeful and clever. There is no objection to people practising their profession long before they have completed their training, so that doctors range from the novice to the renowned diviner of long standing. The profession, though open to all, is usually inherited from a relative; but there is an increasing number of men to-day who become doctors for the money they make out of it and without undergoing any extensive training.

The doctor associated with the new cult of possession that has within the past thirty years spread over the Lowveld from the east resembles in his methods the Zulu-Xhosa doctor. He is possessed by spirits who talk through him and order him to throw bones and guide him in the use of medicines, and he uses all manner of wonderful tricks. But he undergoes no initiation other than that of all possessed people. The cult is confined largely to women who, during possession, speak in a foreign tongue, said to be Thobolo or Kgalaka, but in reality a kind of gibberish. Possession takes the form of dancing to the accompaniment of tambourines, rattles and a special kind of drum beat, initiation into which is believed to cure the ailment which accompanied the first manifestations of the possessing spirit. These spirits are always those of relatives, usually on the mother's side, in contrast to the foreign spirits who are thought to possess Shangana-Tonga who have the same cult. Only a few of those who are possessed ever become doctors and then only when the possessing spirit was a doctor. They are the only class of Sotho doctor who receives inspiration direct from the spirits.

A class of doctor that does not belong to the Sotho culture yet is indispensable to Lowveld Sotho society, who is seldom or never a Sotho yet has a place in Sotho life, is the *mulavu* or Shangana-Tonga smeller-out. He divines chiefly by the head without much use of bones, is able to find things that have been hidden, and is the final judge or smeller-out of witches.

The doctor is not, in the minds of most people, clearly distinguished